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Ceramic Analysis At Ike's Cut, Bahamas Compared With Ft. Liberte, Haiti And El Mango, Cuba

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CERAMIC ANALYSIS AT IKE'S CUT, BAHAMAS COMPARED WITH FT. LIBERTE, HAITI AND EL MANGO, CUBA

by

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Abstract

This thesis compares pottery from Ike's Cut, Inagua, Bahamas with assemblages from the site of El Mango, Cuba, analyzed by Ashley Brooke Persons and the site of Ft. Liberte, Haiti, analyzed by Irving Rouse.

The Ike's Cut site was a seasonally occupied location on the largest bank on Inagua, and was utilized for its access to marine resources. The migrants living here brought with them Meillacoid ceramics that were manufactured somewhere in the Greater Antilles. The objective of this research was to evaluate whether the ceramics at Ike's Cut share more in common with either the Hispaniolan or Cuban assemblages. These similarities can provide evidence from where these people came.

Noting the frequency of certain traits in the distribution allowed me to draw conclusions regarding the similarities and differences in pottery characteristics among these Taíno sites. Upon completing a comparison of decorative modes and an analysis of rim types, I was able to conclude that these sites showed considerable similarities despite being situated in different regions. These results indicate the differences in site purposes and their corresponding ceramics, and also shed light on the continuity between decorative motifs throughout Taíno sites and the Caribbean. This indicates that Rouse's initial hypothesis, that migration throughout these islands was unilateral, was false and that there was significant interaction between these three sites over time.

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I would like to thank my parents for always believing that I can accomplish anything, and for supporting my ambitions no matter what. A special thank you to my dad for editing every essay I've ever written, from the IB Program through college…don't get excited, it isn't over yet.

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Definitions

Arawak - Arawak is a language family, spoken by people of South American origin that eventually spread throughout the West Indies

El Mango - Potrero de El Mango is a Ceramic Age site in Cuba which Irving Rouse investigated in 1941 (Persons, 2013: 158). Rouse classified the site as a SubTaíno village site. It is located on the edge of a rolling area of land that extends through the Banes region and is near the Mulas River and a permanent spring (see Image 3). The site was occupied from the late eleventh century to the early- to mid-thirteenth century, similar to Ike's Cut.

Ft. Liberte - Ft. Liberte was the site in Haiti that was excavated and analyzed by Irving Rouse in the late 1930s. Here, Rouse identified and described the Meillacoid pottery style that is present at many sites throughout the Caribbean.

Lucayan - The Lucayan Taíno were a group of Taínos identified by sites that have been found throughout the Bahamas Archipelago. The pottery at Ike's Cut has diagnostic decorations of the Meillacoid style, indicating that it was imported rather than locally manufactured.

Meillac/Meillacoid - Rouse defined this style of Taíno pottery as "Meillacan Ostionoid", or Meillacoid. This is the style of pottery found at Ike's Cut. It appears to originate from the Dominican Republic in the fourth century B.C. but spread rapidly to other islands such as Cuba and Jamaica by the ninth century A.D. (Sinelli, 2013: 225).

Mode – Any standard, concept, or custom which governs the behavior of the artisans of a community, which they hand down from generation to generation, and which may spread from community to community over considerable distances (Rouse, 1960: 313)

Ostionan/Ostionoid- Beginning in A.D. 650 Ostionoid peoples from Cuba came to the Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos. Various theories have linked the Ostionoid series with the Meillacoid series, but more recent research identifies them as being more distinct than previously thought (Sinelli, 2013: 225).

Style- Rouse defines style as "the entire pottery repertoire of a people during one single cultural period" (Rouse, 1960). Each style can be defined by a unique material, shape, or decoration that can aid in identifying the area, period, people, and culture responsible for its manufacture (Rouse 1960).

Saladoid- The Saladoid peoples came from South America and rapidly colonized the islands from Grenada to Puerto Rico by 500 B.C. (Sinelli, 2013: 222). Their pottery appears in Puerto Rico but is not present on the islands to the west.

Zemiism- Zemiism was the religion of the Taínos, it was very spiritual and involved supernatural beings often living in objects.

Introduction

Image 1 – The Greater Antilles (Maps of the Caribbean, 2018)

In this thesis I compared Meillacoid pottery from a Taíno site on the island of Inagua, Bahamas to a Cuban site analyzed by A. Brooke Persons and a Haitian site analyzed by Irving Rouse. Dr. Peter Sinelli took a team to Inagua in 2012-2013 to conduct excavations and complete related research. The focus of this thesis is the site on the northwestern coast of Inagua known as Ike's Cut. This site is the relevant in the study of imported ceramics, because 100 percent of the ceramic assemblage found at Ike's Cut was imported (Sinelli, 2001: 33-34). The local clay from Inagua is used to produce a type of pottery called Palmetto ware. Only one piece of Palmetto ware was found on the surface and it was concluded to not have been from the time of occupation. Since all of the pottery is imported, it can be hypothesized that these fishermen brought the ceramic vessels with them, and left behind anything that was broken or did not fit back onto the ship. Using this assemblage, a comparison between the Cuban material, Haitian

material and Bahamas material was possible, shedding light on a small piece of the history of the relationship between the islands.

The three most relevant documents to this thesis are Peter Sinelli's master's thesis *Archaeological Investigations,* Brooke Persons' doctoral dissertation *Pottery, People, and Place*, and Irving Rouse's *Prehistory in Haiti: A Study in Method.* In order to understand the references in this study, some background is needed for each of these works.

Sinelli's master's thesis focused on excavations at two prehistoric sites on Middle Caicos, Turks and Caicos Islands. These sites, Kendrick and Plantation, were believed to have been settled by Meillacan Ostionoid peoples from Hispaniola in A.D. 750-950. Through analysis of the decorative modes and rim designs of these ceramics, it was determined that the people who colonized the Kendrick and Plantation sites came from near the modern city of Ft. Liberte, on the north coast of Haiti. Dr. Shaun Sullivan previously concluded that the colonization of the Bahama archipelago was by the Meillacan Ostionoid people from Hispaniola, but this model had not been re-tested until Sinelli's research. Sullivan had previously utilized the material from the Kendrick and Plantation sites, and Sinelli returned to the study of these sites to answer questions regarding where the settlers came from, when the sites were occupied, why the locations of the sites were chosen, and what motivated the colonization.

In addition to Sinelli's thesis, I utilized Irving Rouse's *Prehistory in Haiti: A Study in Method.* Rouse's work reports findings from Ft. Liberte Bay, Haiti and is part of a larger dissertation titled *Archaeology of the Ft. Liberte Region, Haiti. Prehistory in Haiti* aims to explain a systematic technique for historical reconstruction as well as to act as an experiment in methodology (Rouse, 1964: 7). Each mode is any standard, concept, or custom which governs

the behavior of the artisans of a community, which they hand down from generation to generation, and which may spread from community to community over considerable distances (Rouse, 1960: 313). The most useful part of *Prehistory in Haiti* for the purpose of this thesis is Rouse's in-depth description of what characterizes Meillac pottery. Rouse describes what characteristics are common, present, rare, or absent in this pottery type and sets up a foundation on which to base later studies. From this published work, Sinelli was able to create a data sheet that I later utilized in my research for this thesis. Rouse describes 51 Meillac modes in detail and then later compares Meillac and Carrier pottery to ascertain which modes are diagnostic in order to determine pottery types in this region. Meillac and Carrier pottery are both found in the Greater Antilles during the same time period, so knowing which modes are diagnostic allows archaeologists to better understand what kind of site they are working with.

Persons (2013) analyzed settlement patterns and regional development of the Banes region of northeastern Cuba (Persons, 2013: 4). Her goals for her research include developing a pattern of change in Meillacoid ceramics that were produced in Banes through a frequency seriation based on modal analysis (Persons, 2013: 4). Persons reanalyzed the ceramic collections from Potrero de El Mango (El Mango), Aguas Gordas, and El Chorro de Maita in order to better interpret the sites and the characterization of Bani culture. The site of El Mango was occupied between the late eleventh century to the early- to mid-thirteenth century A.D. (Persons, 2013: 197). She sought to illustrate a detailed description of Bani ceramics while also using GIS, or geographic information systems, to model the proximity of archaeological sites to determine settlement patterns.

Using these documents I was able to better understand the previous research that had been done at the three sites, which prepared me for the analysis between them. They showed many similarities, which instigated my realization that Rouse's initial models may be incorrect.

Literature Review

The type of pottery that is being compared in this thesis is of the Meillacoid (Meillacan Ostionoid) subseries. Irving Rouse defined Meillac type pottery from Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti, along with three other series: Cuevas type, Collores type, and Reconstructed Carrier type pottery (Rouse, 1964: 56). Rouse defined characteristics of Meillac type as being always present or never present, and continues to describe the frequency of the characteristics that are always present. By saying that these characteristics are present, the author does not mean that they are present in every piece of the Meillac type pottery, but rather that these characteristics are always present in sites that contain the Meillac type pottery. For example, not every piece of Meillac pottery has to contain alternating oblique incising lines, but alternating oblique incised lines are always present in Meillac sites.

According to Rouse, Meillac bowls are often elongated or "boat shaped" and they have inturned or angled shoulders (see Image 5, numbers 1 and 2). Inturned shoulders are noted more frequently in the earlier forms of the Meillac type pottery. Ornamentation is only on shoulders and was added before the clay dried, which led to the rough incised lines that are distinctive of the Meillac type pottery. Affixing lugs, handles, or other shaped clay to the walls of vessels is another characteristic of Meillac type pottery, although it is rare in the earlier forms. Loop handles and wedge-shaped lugs are additional decorative characteristics (see Image 8, number 7). Cutting incisions, most likely made with a shell tool, are frequently seen at sites containing Meillac pottery, especially in a cross-hatched pattern. Other incised line designs include alternating oblique parallel lines and vertical parallel lines (see Image 9, number 2), although they are more rare in the later forms of pottery. Punctation, or decoration by making dots or

dashes with a pointed or wedge-shaped tool (see Image 6, number 12), is a procedure that is always present in theses sites (Rouse, 1964: 57). Laying small strips of clay along the surface of pots, or application, is another common procedure for Meillac type pottery (see Image 9, number 7). In addition to application, ridges on the outside rim or on the inturned surfaces define Meillac pottery. Finally, there is polishing only on the undecorated surfaces. Knowing these diagnostic modes gave me an idea of what to look out for when I was analyzing the pottery from Ike's Cut. There were multiple examples of rough incised lines, cutting incisions, punctation, and application that reinforced the notion that this was a Taino site with Meillacoid pottery.

Rouse's Model on the Ceramic Age Caribbean

To understand the migration and the settlement of the Taíno people throughout the Caribbean, it is important to begin with the Ceramic Age in the Caribbean. The chiefdoms of the Taínos were the most complex in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico. Persons notes that Cuba was occupied by Archaic People by 4000 B.C., but the Ceramic Age did not begin in the region until around A.D. 900 (Persons, 2013: 4). Until then, these people were aceramic and relied on marine resources and hunting and gathering in order to survive. Following the production of worked stone and wood, these people began to create ceramic griddles, which allowed them to prepare food and produce manioc bread. Rouse believes that then the Ceramic Age peoples came from a group of Saladoid people from South America, who slowly began expanding through the Caribbean, bringing their ceramics with them. Ostionoid style pottery is theorized to have branched off from the Saladoid style in Puerto Rico, even though the traits of these styles are distinct (Persons, 2013: 19). Rouse posits that Ostionan people migrated west into Cuba around

A.D. 800, displacing the Archaic Age people (Persons, 2013: 19). Other hypotheses suggest there were multiple migrations and influences that led Cuba into the Ceramic Age, rather than one singular migration westward. Rouse categorized these people as Ostionan, but later they were added to the Pre-Arawakan group instead. In Cuba, the Late Ceramic Age commenced around A.D. 1100 and lasted until European contact (Persons, 2013: 19). Throughout the Ceramic Age, Taíno people were moving from island to island, bringing their ceramics and culture with them.

The Taíno people are often referred to as Taíno and Western Taíno. Subtaíno is a formerly used term that is now referred to as Western Taíno, and Persons' Banes site was particularly important because it contained distinguishing features that separated it into the Western Taíno category. Both the Taíno and Western Taíno groups were reliant on root crop agriculture, while also practicing zemiism and sharing Arawakan language. The similarities end there though, as their ceramic style was different and the Western Taíno groups often lacked monumental architecture, ballcourts, and other features that were distinctive of Taíno societies and the eastern Greater Antilles (Persons, 2013: 4). Cubans refer to this Western Taíno (Western Taíno) group as Agroaltarero, as they were the first people of the island to be ceramic-making agriculturalists. The designation of Subtaíno created a bias in archaeological interpretation as the term suggests that Western Taíno culture can only be described as lacking traits that are present in Taíno populations. This is important to recognize for this thesis because Persons' Banes site was one of the first sites to be recognized as Western Taino. There are many minute differences between Taino sites and separating them into subcategories based on the architecture of their cities allows archaeologists to better understand the economic state of the sites.

Current Models on the Ceramic Age Caribbean- Keegan and Sinelli

William Keegan suggests an opposing view to Rouse in reference to the spread of ceramics through the West Indies. Keegan believes that the Meillacan subseries was diffused as early as 305 A.D. (Keegan 2000:149-151). Decorative modes of the Meillacan style have previously been found on 4000 year old stone artifacts from the Archaic Age peoples, which lead to a general consensus that the Meillacan subseries was influenced by these people rather than by the Ostionoid peoples. Ostionoid style ceramics have been found in conjunction with Meillac style ceramics, but Keegan theorizes that these were two distinct cultural groups living near each other rather than an ancestor and descendant group.

In *Meillacoid and the Origins of Classic Taíno Society*, Sinelli reinforces Keegan's research that contradicts Rouse's beliefs that the Meillacoid culture evolved out of Ostionoid culture in Puerto Rico (Sinelli, 2013: 223). Previously, Meillacoid culture was seen as having minimal influence on the development of these complex societies, but new evidence is placing them center stage. Archaeology in the West Indies relies strongly on ceramic chronologies to create a cultural history, due to the harsh tropical environments. Rouse described Meillac sites as having Meillacan Ostionoid pottery, in that they are generally similar to the Puerto Rican Ostionoid modes, but they are also Meillac because they incorporate aspects of the Archaic Age peoples. This new research shows that the Rousian model oversimplifies the dispersal of people throughout the Ceramic Age, and that these styles of pottery existed in Cuba and Hispaniola centuries before the Saladoid people arrived. Keegan continues to counter Rouse's model and suggests that, in fact, the Ostionoid series came from the "Pre-Arawak Pottery Horizon in Hispaniola", a group of Archaic Age sites that produced pottery as long as 1,600 years before the

Saladoid came to Puerto Rico, and proceeded to migrate eastward (Sinelli, 2013: 223). This model would mean that the Saladoid people did not conquer the Caribbean peoples when they came over, but rather their descendants were conquered by these groups. Using this logic, Archaic Age traditions would have survived through the spread of the Classic Taíno chiefdoms, meaning that Meillacoid culture from Hispaniola played a major role in Taíno development.

In the Bahama Archipelago there is evidence of communication between Meillacoid peoples in the Turks and Caicos and in northern Hispaniola. Ostionan Ostionoid sites appear in the Bahamas by the seventh century A.D. (Berman and Gnivecki, 1995). Ostionoid peoples from Cuba arrived in a separate migration to San Salvador, Bahamas around A.D. 650, while another group settled in Grand Turk, Turks and Caicos Islands (Carlson, 1993). Data shows that Meillacoid people from northern Hispaniola began to colonize the southern Bahamas all at once around A.D. 1160 (Sinelli, 2013: 225). The archaeological record shows that the Meillacoid peoples from Hispaniola launched a successful colonization onto these islands to the east, further supporting the connection between their people and the Classic Taíno. At many sites, there is little change between the Meillacoid sites and the Classic Taíno, other than the introduction of the Chican subseries, which evolved out of southern Hispaniola. Rouse believed that this meant the Taíno conquered the people before them, but with this new archaeological evidence it is clear that a change in ceramics does not indicate a grand modification to the culture, diffusion, or conquest. Knowing that there may not be a culture of conquest throughout these islands, but rather a cultural exchange, supports the idea that the three sites analyzed in this theory show similarities because there was communication through exchanging of goods and services.

Description of the Site

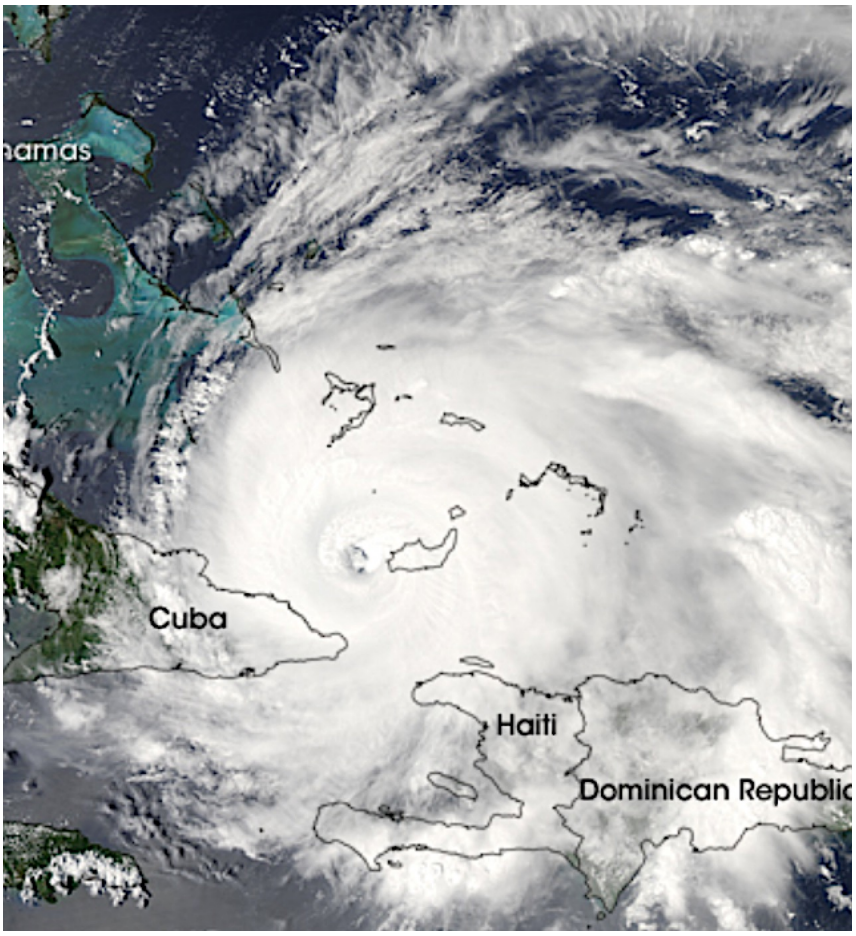


Image 2- Hurricane Ike hits Inagua, Bahamas

On Inagua, there is only one town, Matthew Town, which is home to Inagua's 1,000 residents. On the northwestern coast, Ike's Cut is located 17 kilometers north of Matthew Town (Sinelli 2013: 29). The site is located near a 50-meter-wide tidal river that developed in 2008 when Hurricane Ike that passed through the area (see Image 2). This category 4 storm packed sustained winds of 135 mph and a 13- to 18-foot storm surge (National Hurricane Center 2008). Following the hurricane, the isthmus on which the site is located was divided in two and the new tidal river reconnected the open sea with the basin to the south of the site. The tidal river that was

formed following Hurricane Ike also existed at the time of occupation of Ike's Cut. A buildup of silt or the salt pans that were built in historic times had blocked off the basin, resulting in it turning a brownish color since there was limited flow with the ocean. After Hurricane Ike struck, the basin rejoined the sea and became a Bahamian blue color again.

Inagua is a very difficult island for prehistoric fisherfolk to occupy due to its dramatic ecosystem. Inagua is very dry, primarily rocky, and is surrounded by water that is thousands of meters deep not far off of the shore. This environment is suitable for pelagic fishing but limits access to mollusks and reef fish that were staples of Lucayan diet. However, Ike's Cut is ideally located for the Lucayan people because it is adjacent to the largest bank on the island, which is fringed by a large reef system on the northern side. Additionally, larger predators such as barracuda and sharks were drawn to the area because of the bank-dwelling fish that resided there.

Only the eastern 150 meters of the potentially 425-meter site were accessible in 2012 (Sinelli, 2013: 4). Evidence of the road that previously ran to the Union Creek Turtle Research field station was atop the site, accompanied by other construction and maintenance material. The portion of the site that lay south of the road is predominantly undisturbed, aside from the area that is used by local fisherman as a parking lot.

Ten formal units were completed at Ike's Cut in the summer of 2012. They were designated by the letters A-J and were grouped into three areas. The eastern cluster (Units A, D, and G) were located near the tidal river, while 60 meters west are the center Units B and C (Sinelli 2013: 33). The westernmost group of units are 110 meters west of the center cluster and are marked as Units E, F, H, I, and J. Almost all of the units produced ceramics, shell, and faunal material. It is important to note that out of the 497 pieces of pottery found at this site, only one

piece of pottery was found to be Palmetto ware sherd, and it is likely that this sherd did not come from the time of occupation (Sinelli 2013: 34). The significance of this pottery assemblage being entirely imported is profound because it reinforces that this site was solely used for seasonal occupation, and then abandoned for the rest of the year. There was no time to produce pottery from the clay on Inagua because production was not the purpose of the site.

The excavation will be described by eastern, central, and western clusters since the site was excavated in phases. The eastern group lay directly adjacent to the tidal river. Unit A was a 1 x 1 meter test pit that produced 10 codakia clams that were used as scrapers, two fragmentary sherds, and a Greenstone net sinker that was made from foreign stone (Sinelli 2013: 34). Unit D produced 6 sherds and two mollusk tools in its 2 x 2 meter unit. Unit G was a 1 x 1 meter unit that did not produce any ceramic material. While this cluster did not produce much material, it did lead to the hypothesis that this area of the village would have been used for storing items such as fishing gear and canoes, due to the appearance of the net sinker.

The central cluster was established 60 meters away from the tidal river and 3 meters south of the road. Unit B produced 29 sherds of pottery, two of which were described by punctuation holes and one of which had fine-lines incised on it, a characteristic of Meillacoid pottery (Sinelli, 2013: 35). Unit C was a 2 x 2 meter unit west of Unit B. This unit was four times larger and 10 cm deeper, making it logical that it produced much more material. Unit C produced 99 measurable sherds, three of which were decorated body sherds and three of which were decorated rim sherds (Sinelli, 2013: 36). One of the body sherds was decorated with punctations and two were incised with fine-lines. The rim sherds showed evidence of punctation on one sherd, fine-line incision on one sherd, and one was cross-hatched with fine lines diagnostic of the

Meillacoid subseries (Sinelli, 2013: 36). This area shows evidence of domestic activity through the ceramic material, supporting the idea that this was a habitation area.

The Western cluster was established in order to explore the darker, ashy area of the site that possibly corresponded with a midden. Unit E was the first unit excavated here, as it lay between two auger test sites that had produced ceramics and fish bone. Unit E was indeed a midden area, and produced 60 measurable sherds of pottery and 6 decorated pieces (Sinelli, 2013: 37). There were four body sherd pieces, two of which were incised with the Meillacoid subseries fine-line method. The other two showed the crosshatched pattern, and evidence of an applique strip, more examples of Meillacoid pottery. Additionally there were two fine-line incised rims that were a part of this assemblage. Unit F was a 2 x 1 meter unit that produced 120 measurable sherds and 4 decorated sherds (Sinelli, 2013: 38). There was one fine-line incised body sherd, one punctated rim sherd from a circular vessel, one punctated rim sherd from a "boat-shaped" vessel, and one fine-line incised rim sherd. Unit H was excavated north of Units E and F, resulting in a 3 x 3 meter square. Unit H presented 117 measurable pottery sherds, seven of which were fine-line incised body sherds (Sinelli, 2013: 39). Additionally, there was a fine-line incised rim, which was a rare find at the site. Unit I produced 21 measurable sherds, but none of them were the fine-line incised pieces that characterized Meillacoid pottery. Unit I was only 1 x 1 meter, which would explain the reduced amount of pottery, but there was an abundance of shell remains found in this unit. Unit J was placed in the depression of dark and ashy soil 1 meter south and 1 meter east of the southeastern corner of Unit E. This 1 x 1 meter unit produced 16 measurable sherds, including four fine-incised body pieces and one punctated rim (Sinelli, 2013: 40). It was concluded from the remains of the western cluster that this area

was a trash site, or midden, due to the artifacts found there as well as the location being downwind of the habitation area. If this was where the refuse was being deposited then the Lucayans customarily placed it downwind of where they lived.

Methodology

The pottery from Ike's Cut had been previously catalogued based on the characteristics of each ceramic sherd. The ceramic assemblage inventory was organized by field specimen, or FS, number, sherd size and corresponding number, the type of pottery, the weight in grams, the thickness in mm, paste color, temper, grit, rim type, and rim diameter. The FS number represents each different provenience at the site. Each new level in a unit received a new FS number, which was marked on the artifact bags in order to differentiate between proveniences. The sherds in the ceramic assemblage inventory were separated into small, medium, and large sherds decided by the researcher. The small sherds were given different numbers but were weighed and defined as a group. The medium and large sherds got their own weight, thickness, paste color, etc. The weight of each sherd was rounded to the nearest gram, while the thickness was rounded to a one hundredth of a millimeter. The paste color had a large range for this ceramic assemblage, ranging from red to grey in some cases. The temper on the other hand was denoted as white, grey, or black. The grit of the ceramics was defined as fine, medium, or course.

An important part of my methodology was the analysis of the rims of this ceramic assemblage. I performed an attribute analysis on form and decoration, including punctations, fine-line decoration, cross-hatched decoration (see Image 9, number 8), and evidence of the shape of a vessel define the series of pottery to which this assemblage belongs. Surface decoration is important for this assemblage because it will allow for concrete comparisons with Persons' Cuban pottery. Meillac type pottery is defined by very specific characteristics which these imported pieces demonstrate clearly.

The tools I used in order to reach conclusions about the Bahamian assemblage at Ike's Cut were the dissertation on Cuban Meillacan pottery by A. Brooke Persons, Sinelli's thesis on Meillac pottery from Middle Caicos, and Rouse's *Prehistory in Haiti*. Sinelli (2012) had previously created a data sheet from Rouse's research in order to document the different modes of Meillac pottery that he found at the Kendrick and Plantation sites in Middle Caicos (Image 4). I used this data sheet to analyze Ike's Cut pottery in comparison with Rouse's Ft. Liberte assemblage.

A. Brooke Persons' dissertation gave me insight into Meillac pottery in Cuba, at her site at El Mango. Using her descriptions and charts, I created a data sheet noting all of the modes she mentioned in the dissertation, similar to the data sheet for the Middle Caicos assemblage. I noted any occurrence of the modes that Persons describes in her dissertation on my data sheet and then compiled the data into an Excel document.

Rouse created a frequency scheme that I used to analyze the frequency of modes in the Ike's Cut assemblage, described by Rouse and Persons. The frequency scheme utilized by Rouse was utilized in both charts, where "Absent-Rare-Present-Common" represents frequencies of 0 percent, <4 percent, 4-10 percent, and >10 percent correspondingly (Sinelli, 2001: 100). Once I determined the frequency of the modes in the Ike's Cut assemblage, I compared that frequency to the frequency of the modes in the Ft. Liberte, Haiti and El Mango, Cuba assemblages, which is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Description of Assemblage

The assemblage from Ike's Cut includes all decorated sherds and all rim sherds. The assemblage includes 101 total sherds, some of which displayed more than one design element. While there is a substantial amount of body sherds without decoration in the assemblage, these pieces are not definitive of the Meillacoid style unless they have incised lines or other decoration. For each FS, there ranges from one to seven sherds of pottery, with the majority of the FS's containing about five sherds.

Each FS was analyzed through categorization of known Meillacoid traits, identified in both Persons' dissertation and in Irving Rouse's *Prehistory in Haiti: A Study in Method.* I used Sinelli's data sheet from *Archaeological Investigations* (Image 4) and constructed my own data sheet from Persons' dissertation in order to categorize design elements that were notable in the Ike's Cut assemblage. I compared the modes of pottery between Persons' dissertation and Sinelli's thesis in order to determine if the Taínos at Ike's Cut showed more similarities to Ft Liberte or El Mango, thus favoring migration from either Haiti or Cuba.

There are some differences between the data sheet I utilized from Sinelli's dissertation based off of Rouse's publication and the data sheet that I created from Persons' dissertation. Persons' dissertation has a focus on rim orientation while Rouse only noted whether the rim had an inturned shoulder or an eversion of the rim. Additionally, Persons was much more descriptive in regards to the types of applique. Persons identified the types of incising, such as a singular line, parallel lines, perpendicular lines, curvilinear lines, etc. Her analysis of punctations refers to the placement of punctation, whether it is on the lip of the bowl, on an applique strip, or if there was a field of punctation. Rouse did identify various incising techniques and punctation styles

but not as descriptively as Persons. However, there is enough consistency between their approaches to effectively examine the Ike's Cut assemblage at a higher scale of analysis.

Pottery Form and Decoration at Ike's Cut Compared to Ft. Liberte

Table 1 - Ike's Cut Compared to the Haitian Site of Ft. Liberte

Mode	Count	Ike's Cut Frequency	Ft Liberte Frequency
Red coloring matter in clay	57	common	common
boat-shaped bowl	4	rare	common
inturned shoulder	13	common	common
eversion of rim	3	rare	rare
flat rim top	19	common	rare
round rim top	24	common	
filet top	13	common	
bevel top	3	rare	
orn. Before clay relatively dry	23	common	present
ornamentation confined to shoulders	1	rare	present
affixation	2	rare	common
loop handle	1	rare	common
lug	3	rare	common
cutting incision	15	common	present
engraving incision	9	present	rare
curved incised lines	1	rare	rare
cross-hatch design	3	rare	present
alternating oblique parallel line design	2	rare	common
vertical parallel line design	2	rare	present
horizontal parallel line design	8	present	present
punctation	12	common	common
application	22	common	common
ridge on outside rim	14	common	common
incision on outside rim	2	rare	present
strip on outside rim	7	present	present
ridge on inside rim	2	rare	rare
red slip	0	absent	rare
white slip	0	absent	absent
	265		

The green highlighting denotes the modes that shared the same frequencies between the two sites. The first characteristic to note is the presence of red coloring in the paste of the clay. In

Rouse's description, he noted that ordinarily the sherds at the Ft. Liberte site he studied were grey in color, but occasionally a coloring material was used in order to produce a red color (Rouse, 1964: 46). This red coloring in some pieces and not others is as important to note as because it may suggest different purposes or uses for the ceramics. Out of the 101 sherds used in this analysis, 57 (56 percent) of them contained red coloring in the clay. Using Rouse's frequency scheme, this means that red coloring in the clay is common in the Ike's Cut assemblage, which correlates with Rouse's conclusion that the red coloring matter was common at his site in Ft. Liberte, Haiti (Rouse, 1964: 55). This is a separate mode from the use of red slip on the ceramic pieces, because the red clay in this case is found within the body of the pottery rather than applied to the outside surface of the vessel.

Rouse observed that there is a clear separation between the symmetrical and asymmetrical bowls. Asymmetrical bowls were deemed "boat-shaped" because of their elongated shape and raised ends (see Image 5, numbers 1 and 2). At Ft. Liberte, "boat-shaped" bowls are common, while the Ike's Cut assemblage only contained four examples of this type of ceramic. This could be due to the small size of the assemblage, or it can be inferred that the people at Ike's Cut were not utilizing pottery the same way that they were in Haiti.

Inturned shoulders on bowls were found to be common at Ft. Liberte and at Ike's Cut (see Image 5, numbers 1 and 2). Inturned shoulders are characterized by the sides of bowls curving inward below the rim and are often accompanied by incised ornamentation (Rouse, 1964: 47). In the Ike's Cut assemblage there were 13 sherds that exemplified the inturned shoulder, or 12.8 percent. This puts inturned shoulder sherds into the common category.

There were three sherds that were examples of an eversion of the rim, placing this mode into the rare category, which matches up with Rouse's conclusions (see example in Image 8, number 4).

A diagnostic mode of Meillac pottery is that the clay is ornamented before it is relatively dry. According to Rouse, on some sherds there are designs traced in strips of clay that are adhered to the surface of the vessel. In instances where the designs appear pressed and smoothed onto the vessel, it is possible that the clay was relatively dry at the time of adhesion. In cases where the strips were simply laid upon the vessel without needing to be smoothed down it is likely that the clay of both the ornamentation and the vessel were relatively soft and sticky when the ornamentation was applied (Rouse, 1964: 47). Lugs and punctations also support this model in that when they are added to the vessel, the inside of the sherd bulges when the pressure distorts it (Rouse, 1964: 47). Incising can indicate whether the clay was wet or dry as well. Deep, narrow incisions are made when the clay is fairly soft, compared to when flint tools are pressed onto the clay, forming shallow, broad lines that indicate that the clay was relatively dry (Rouse, 1964: 48). On 23 (or 22 percent) of the sherds from Ike's Cut there is an example of the clay being soft while ornamented, fitting it into the common frequency described by Rouse.

Affixation, loop handles, and lugs were rare in the Ike's Cut assemblage, only appearing on one to three of the vessels. Rouse listed these characteristics as common at his sites in Haiti, but this would correspond with the hypothesis that the pottery at Ike's Cut is less decorated than the pottery from Cuba or Haiti because having highly decorated vessels was not socially important for these seasonal residents who were there primarily to harvest marine resources.

The types of incisions correspond with whether the clay was wet or dry, in that cutting incisions occurred in wet clay and engraving incisions occurred on drier clay. This is because the shell tool that cut deeply into the clay created narrow lines and the clay was thrown up on the sides of the incision due to the clay sticking to the tool that was slicing through the material (see Image 8, number 13). There were 15 examples of cutting incisions in the Ike's Cut assemblage, representing 14.8 percent of the total assemblage. This falls into the common category, which aligns with Rouse's conclusion. Engraving incisions were created using a blunt tool such as stick to press shallow, broad lines into the clay (see Image 8, number 14). Engraving was demonstrated on 8.9 percent of the sherds in the Ike's Cut assemblage, leading to the conclusion that they were present at the site, although they are rare at the Ft. Liberte site.

The Ike's Cut assemblage had few examples of curved incised lines (one), cross-hatched design (three), alternating oblique parallel line design (two), and vertical parallel line designs (two). According to Rouse's findings in Haiti, all but curved incised lines were present or even common in his sample of the Meillac type pottery. Only the horizontal parallel line design (see Image 9, number 3) was present out of these decorative modes, and was characterized by a singular horizontal line below the lip of the rim. Rouse also found this mode to be present at the Ft. Liberte site.

Punctation and application are both common in the Ike's Cut assemblage. The punctation was most often a singular dot or a series of dots near the rim of the vessel, although it was never on an applied strip. There were 12 examples of punctation and 22 examples of application in this assemblage. In regards to application, it was most commonly an added lip to the rim of the vessel, characterized by a single strip on the outside rim.

Red slip is diagnostic of the Meillac type even though it is rare in the Ft. Liberte assemblage. Red slip is thought to have been added prior to firing, and is only known to have appeared on bowls. In any case, no examples of red slip were found in the Ike's Cut assemblage.

Pottery Form and Decoration at Ike's Cut Compared to El Mango

Table 2 - Ike's Cut Compared to the Cuban Site of El Mango

Mode	Count	Ike's Cut Frequency	El Mango Frequency
flat rim	19	common	common
tapered rim	3	rare	rare
round rim	24	common	common
external lip	20	common	rare
internal lip	2	rare	rare
rim orientation- straight/vertical rim	41	common	common
rim orientation- inverted	12	common	frequency unknown
rim orientation- everted	3	present	rare
shoulder orientation- straight/vertical	45	common	frequency unknown
shoulder orientation- inverted	10	present	frequency unknown
single horizontal line	10	present	frequency unknown
alternating oblique	3	rare	common
curvilinear	3	rare	common
oblique	12	common	common
parallel to the rim (with or without punctation)	5	present	common
perpendicular to the rim	2	rare	present
part of adorno	3	rare	recorded- frequency unknown
punctation-	11	common	common
linear punctation	1	rare	common
linear punctation on lip	1	rare	rare
linear punctation on applique strip	1	rare	rare
linear band on rim	7	present	common
linear band under the rim	2	rare	rare
double linear punctation	2	rare	rare
scraping	8	present	rare
applique	20	common	common
handles	1	rare	rare
nontabular vertical projections	1	rare	rare
horizontal bilobe	1	rare	rare
residual adornos	1	rare	present
	307		

Again, the green highlighting shows the modes that occurred in the same frequency between the two sites. Persons' ceramic analysis focused more on acute details of the pottery modes, including a focus on rim and shoulder orientation in addition to a detailed categorization of punctation types. This is a different approach from Rouse's original conclusion that there are no true punctated designs in Meillac pottery. Persons separated punctation into linear punctation, linear punctation on lip, linear punctation on applique strip, linear band on rim, linear band under the rim, and double linear punctation (see Image 10). These specifications of the mode were very useful in categorizing the punctations of the Ike's Cut assemblage, as there was at least one example of each of these.

Persons also described shoulder orientation as "the orientation of the shoulder of the vessel, the shoulder being defined as the area between the lip and the point of carination, if present" (Persons, 2013: 125). Her observed modes included vertical/straight, inverted, everted, concave, and convex. In the Ike's Cut assemblage, I only observed examples of straight/vertical and inverted shoulder orientations. Straight or vertical shoulder orientation was very common, as 76.2 percent (45 out of 59) of the rim sherds fit this mode description. Inverted shoulder orientation was present in the assemblage, as 10 of the 59 rim sherds (17 percent) exemplified this mode. Persons' dissertation was descriptive in defining these modes, not mentioning their frequency at El Mango.

Persons noted the presence of a variety of incising modes. I included 15 on my data sheet. There was an occurrence of 7 out of the 15 incising modes described in Persons' dissertation present in the Ike's Cut assemblage. I recorded at least one of the following incising modes: single horizontal line, alternating oblique, curvilinear, oblique, parallel to the rim (with or

without punctation), lines perpendicular to the rim, and incising that is part of an adorno (see Image 11). It is important to note that incising does not only occur on rims, so this frequency seriation is out of the 101 sherds in the assemblage, not just the 59 rim sherds. The most common mode in the Ike's Cut assemblage was the oblique line incising, which Persons defined as "incising in which the primary element consists of inclined incised lines oriented at a diagonal angle relative to the rim" (Persons, 2013: 141). Oblique incising was present on 12 out of the 101 sherds (11.9 percent), resulting in this mode being considered common in the Ike's Cut assemblage while being recorded in low frequency at El Mango (see Image 11, letter e). Oblique incising at El Mango was present on 10 percent (25 of 249 sherds), resulting in the frequency being right on the border between present and common (Persons, 2013: 176).

The next in frequency in the Ike's Cut assemblage was the existence of a single horizontal line, most often directly under the rim (see Image 10, letter b). Persons did not discuss this mode in her dissertation, but in every instance of this mode in the Ike's Cut assemblage, the line fell below the rim of the sherd and continued from one end of the sherd to the other. This line was always narrow and deep, and was most likely cut into wet clay. There were 10 examples (9.9 percent) of this mode in the Ike's Cut assemblage, resulting in it being present and almost common.

The next most frequent incising mode was the incising parallel to the rim (with or without punctation). Persons notes that in her assemblage 18.9 percent of the sherds had parallel incising, but she does not note whether this mode overlaps with the single horizontal line mode. In the case of Ike's Cut, most of the single horizontal lines ran parallel to the rim so there is

overlap between these two modes. Still there were only five examples of lines parallel to the rim, resulting in 5 percent of the assemblage.

Alternating oblique incising is important to distinguish from oblique incising as there can be confusion in analyzing the two. Alternating oblique incising must show diagonal parallel incising that alternates in direction, contrasting the unidirectional oblique incising (see Image 9, number 1). Alternating oblique incising can be mistakenly categorized as oblique incising if only part of the sherd is present. Past researchers have grouped these incising techniques into the same category, but Persons notes that since alternating oblique incising can be diagnostic, it should be treated as a separate mode, and I agree. There were only three examples (3 percent) of alternating oblique incising in the Ike's Cut assemblage, in contrast to the 33.7 percent in the El Mango assemblage (Persons, 2013: 176). Again, this difference could be due to the size of the sherds, as qualifying a sherd as having alternating oblique incising requires the sherd to be large enough to show the parallel lines alternating.

Curvilinear incising was also rare in the Ike's Cut assemblage, as only 3 percent of the assemblage displayed this mode (see Image 9, number 5). Persons notes that curvilinear incising appeared on decorated griddle pieces at El Mango, and griddle pieces were not a part of the Ike's Cut analysis. It is possibly because of this curvilinear incising is rare at Ike's Cut and common in the El Mango assemblage.

There were very few adornos in the Ike's Cut assemblage, so it should not be surprising that incising on an adorno was rare, only appearing in 3 percent of the assemblage. One adorno piece had oblique incising present, which overlapped between these two modes. Persons notes

rectilinear incising on horizontally oriented rim projections and concentric circles on a modeled adorno, neither of which were present in the Ike's Cut assemblage.

The rarest incising mode in the Ike's Cut assemblage was incising perpendicular to the rim, appearing on only 2 of the 101 sherds (2 percent) (Image 11, letter k). Persons notes that perpendicular incising is rare in the El Mango assemblage as well, with only 4.8 percent of the sherds showing any evidence of this mode (Persons, 2013: 176).

As stated above, Persons separated punctation into seven categories, six of which were found in the Ike's Cut assemblage. The only mode that did not appear in the Ike's Cut assemblage was field of punctation, which could be due to the small size of the sherds (Image 11, letter j). There were only two examples of punctation that did not fit into Persons' descriptive modes, and I included these in the broad punctation category. Punctation is considered a common mode of Meillac pottery, by Persons' analysis, and this is supported by the data from Ike's Cut. The only descriptive mode that appeared more than two times in the Ike's Cut assemblage was the linear band on rim, which could be discerned from more than one punctation in a row below the rim (Image 11, letter s). There were seven examples of this in the Ike's Cut assemblage, meaning that this mode was present in this assemblage. There is a lot of overlap with the descriptive punctation modes in that linear punctation is "a linear arrangement of punctation, typically in combination with other decorative elements on the body of a vessel or on an adorno" (Persons, 2013: 147). These pieces could possibly be confused with rim pieces that are incomplete, as there are also linear bands on the rim, linear band under the rim, and other modes. At Ike's Cut there was one linear punctation, one linear punctation on lip, and one linear punctation on applique strip. Persons had few examples of these in the El Mango assemblage,

also categorizing linear punctation on lip and linear punctation applique strip as rare. In contrast, she found linear punctuation to be common in the El Mango assemblage, while it occurred less than 1 percent of the time in the Ike's Cut assemblage. There were two examples of both the linear band under the rim and the double linear punctation modes, suggesting they were rare at Ike's Cut, which would align with Persons' conclusion that they were rare in El Mango as well. The most examples of punctation were found in the linear band on rim mode, where seven punctated rims fit the description. Persons found 152 out of 214 sherds displayed this mode, and she concluded that the linear band on rim mode could account for up to 93.3 percent of the punctation in a given analytical unit.

Persons described scraping as "surface treatment that is created through deliberate dragging of an instrument across the vessel wall in broad strokes to create a regularly patterned, although subtle, decoration" (Persons, 2013: 125). Out of the 1,219 decorative pieces found at the El Mango excavation area, only 14 of them demonstrated this rare mode. Scraping is more present in the Ike's Cut assemblage as 8 out of the 101 sherds exhibited this mode.

Appliques are common across both assemblages, appearing in 20 percent of the Ike's Cut assemblage. In my research, appliques were most often clay strips that were applied to the rim or just below the rim. Persons separates appliques into handles, ribbons, nodules, adornos on the rim, adornos on the body, and residual adornos, but the Ike's Cut assemblage only had one handle, nontabular vertical projection, horizontal bilobe, and residual adorno (Image 12, letter j). Persons notes the presence of loop handles and strap handles at El Mango, that can either be decorated or undecorated, but all handles are considered a rare mode. The one case of a handle in the Ike's Cut assemblage was a loop handle. There was one vertical nontabular projection,

which fit Persons description of a projection that extends vertically above the rim of the sherd. In Persons' analysis, vertical nontabular projections appeared later in the seriation and meet the criterion of a historical mode (Persons, 2013: 209). The horizontal bilobe in the Ike's Cut assemblage was adorned with longitudinal incising, a characteristic of the Meillac style (Image 12, letter o). This mode is rare in both assemblages as well. Finally there was one residual adorno in the Ike's Cut assemblage, as the original shape was indiscernible. Persons defined a residual adorno as an adorno that cannot be properly described or oriented due to sherd size, erosion, or other factors (Persons, 2013: 138). Again this mode is considered to be rare in both assemblages.

The green highlighting shows the modes that showed the same frequency across Ike's Cut and El Mango. From this analysis there are 15 modes between my data and Persons' data that occurred in similar percentages at both sites. Specifically it can be noted that both Ike's Cut and El Mango showed similarities in regard to rim type and orientation, along with applique frequency, which was rare at both sites.

Rim Analysis at Ike's Cut

The analysis of rim sherds from Ike's Cut resulted in the categorization of 24 round rim tops, 19 flat rim tops, 13 filet rim tops, and three bevel rim tops. According to Rouse, rims are very often round rather than flat (Rouse, 1964: 47). See Image 8, number 5 for an example of a flat rim top.

Comparing rims from Ike's Cut to Persons' El Mango analysis, the majority of the conclusions are the same. I found that the most common rim type in the Ike's Cut assemblage was round rims, as 24 out of the 59 rim sherds, or 40.6 percent, fit this description. In Persons' analysis at El Mango, she found that a much higher percentage, 80 percent, of her rim sherds were round, followed by 13.2 percent of the rim sherds being flat. In the Ike's Cut assemblage, there was a much higher percentage of flattened rim tops as 19 out of the 59 (32.2 percent) distinguishable rim tops were this mode. The tapered rim type was the most rare in both of these analyses, account for 3.9 percent of Persons' rims and 5 percent of the Ike's Cut rims. Persons went a step further in order to analyze the presence of an external lip and an internal lip on the rim of the El Mango pottery. She found that on 2.3 percent of the analyzed rims there was an external lip, and on 0.5 percent of the analyzed rims there was an internal rip. I also found that there was a much smaller percentage of rims with an internal lip, as only 2 out of the 59 rims (3.3 percent) displayed this mode. Contrastingly, I did not find external lips to be rare in the Ike's Cut assemblage, as 20 out of the 59 rims (33.8 percent) had evidence of some form of external lip. This difference in conclusion could stem from Persons only qualifying the external lips that were created from the filet rim type, where the clay is folded over toward the outside of the bowl. In my analysis, I included rims that had external lips applied later in production. Persons'

dissertation does not specify what she defined as an external lip, but this difference in analysis could explain why they are ten times more common at Ike's Cut compared to El Mango.

Persons' analysis included rim orientation, which was determined by viewing the rim sherd in its original position indicated by the plane of the vessel mouth (Persons, 2013: 124). This mode is not always reliable to determine, so in cases of uncertainty, the mode was not documented. In Persons' analysis she determined that straight or vertical rims were common modes and everted rims were rare. Persons did not give a frequency for inverted rims, only noting that there were examples of this mode at El Mango. In regards to the Ike's Cut analysis, I found that a straight or vertical rim orientation was very common, as 41 out of the 59 rims or 69.4 percent were examples of this mode. I found that 12 out of the 59 rims (20 percent) were the inverted rim orientation mode, and 3 out of the 59 (5 percent) rims were everted. Persons concluded that everted rims were rare, but became more common during the late prehistoric period.

Rouse was not very descriptive in *Prehistory in Haiti* in regards to the types and frequency of vessels he found at Ft. Liberte. I find this information interesting and relevant though, and I created a table summarizing the vessel shape and size at Ike's Cut.

Table 3 - Summary of Vessel Shape and Size

	Diameter of Aperture (CM)					Total Round	Navicular
	<10	10-14	15-20	21-25	>25		
Ike's Cut	0	0	8	10	29	59	4

Rim sherds are often the only way for archaeologists to understand the shapes and sizes of the vessels that are being utilized at a site. Unfortunately, all of the rim sherds found at Ike's

Cut are very small and do not account for more than 6 percent of the completed vessel. While these sherds do not allow reconstruction of a vessel, they do allow us to determine the diameter of the aperture of the vessel and determine whether the vessel was round or navicular (boat-shaped). Sinelli notes that with round bowls, the majority of the bowls have apertures that are less in diameter than the maximum diameter of the bowl, meaning that the bowl curves inward at the top (Sinelli, 2001: 107). Meillac pottery can feature constricted necks in order to form bottles and jugs as well (Sinelli, 2001: 107). The navicular shape that is found at Ft. Liberte, Haiti is also found at Ike's Cut, and can be described as canoe-shaped with inturned shoulders and elongated ends. While Rouse did note that both of these vessel types were common at the Ft. Liberte site, he did not compare the frequency of the round and navicular types. This makes it impossible to compare Ike's Cut's frequency of vessel type to Ft. Liberte's frequency of vessel type.

Out of the 63 rim sherds at Ike's Cut, only 47 were complete enough to determine vessel size. The majority of bowls were greater than 25 cm wide at the aperture (Table 3). The greatest rim diameter was approximately 45 centimeters and the smallest rim diameter was 14 centimeters, with a wide distribution between the two of them. The distribution falls on the greater than 25 centimeters interval, as 61.7 percent of the measurable sherds were in this category.

While Rouse determined that navicular-shaped vessels were a common feature in Meillac style pottery, this is not evident at Ike's Cut. Ike's Cut only had four navicular sherds out of the 63 total rim sherds, categorizing this type of vessel as present but not common. Round vessels outnumber navicular vessels by a 15 to 1 margin. Navicular bowls were often highly decorated and difficult to produce, making them more meaningful socially. There was less need for

navicular bowls at seasonally occupied Ike's Cut; the temporary residents did not bring all of their best china on what was essentially a business trip.

Conclusions

With the knowledge that the site at Ike's Cut was a seasonal occupation and not a permanent settlement, it is not surprising that there was less variety of ceramics here as there was at Ft. Liberte, Haiti and El Mango, Cuba. From this research we are able to conclude that the vessels at the site are mainly large and undecorated, which would fit their utilitarian purpose.

The similarities between the two sites are highlighted in green on Table 1 and Table 2. Ornamentation at Ike's Cut was very limited because there was no need to possess pottery that was socially or economically important at a site where the people were only present to harvest marine resources and then leave. Ten out of the 26 modes that were found at Ike's Cut had the same frequency as Rouse's site in Haiti. These 10 modes were red coloring matter in clay (common), inturned shoulder (common), eversion of shoulder (rare), curved incised lines (rare), horizontal parallel line design (present), punctation (common), application (common), ridge on outside rim (common), strip on outside rim (present), and ridge on inside rim (rare).

Fifteen out of the 28 modes that were found at Ike's Cut had the same frequencies as El Mango. The rim types are consistent in both assemblages. Internal lips were rare in both assemblages, and straight or vertical rim orientations were common. Oblique incising and punctation were common, and linear punctation on lips, on applique strips, under the rim, and double linear punctation were rare in both assemblages. Appliques were common in both assemblages, but most often were a single simple strip around the edge of the rim. There is one example of a handles, nontabular vertical projection, and horizontal bilobe in the Ike's Cut assemblage, so it was rare like in the El Mango assemblage.

When Tables 1 and 2 were placed next to each other to find what all three sites have in common, the only two modes that were described by both Rouse and Persons and appeared in the Ike's Cut assemblage were punctation and application. Since these modes appeared in all three assemblages, they are not diagnostic for any of them.

After removing the decorative modes, the assemblage at Ike's Cut has slightly more in common with the Haitian assemblage at Ft. Liberte than the assemblage from El Mango. If the site on Inagua was a larger, village site like the other two, then it's likely that there would be more conclusive data. Owning ceramics that were socially significant was important at village sites because their separation of classes was more apparent. This is why at Ft. Liberte and El Mango there was much more evidence of decorated pottery, everted rims, and navicular shapes. The people who traveled to Ike's Cut were likely all from the same social group, as they journeyed here in order to extract the marine resources that were available at this large bank. Their main purpose was to fish, evidenced by the material left at the site, so there is very little evidence of significant decoration as the pottery here was used for practical purposes.

From this research what we can conclude is that there is an interesting continuity of decorative motifs throughout the Greater Antilles from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. I began my research anticipating that there would be a clear distinction between the Haitian and Cuban sites, and that Ike's Cut would line up noticeably with one or the other. This was not what the results demonstrated, which leads to a conversation about how many similarities exist in ceramic assemblages in this area in the eleventh- to thirteenth-centuries. There is a lot of travel between the Greater Antilles, so it should not come as a surprise that many of these peoples began to use similar techniques. The main objective at Ike's Cut was resource procurement, but

the site showed similar attributes to village sites in the styles of decoration. Ike's Cut may have lacked the more valuable vessels such as navicular bowls and zoomorphic appliques, but otherwise the assemblages are very similar, suggesting cultural continuity between these peoples and groups.

Appendix

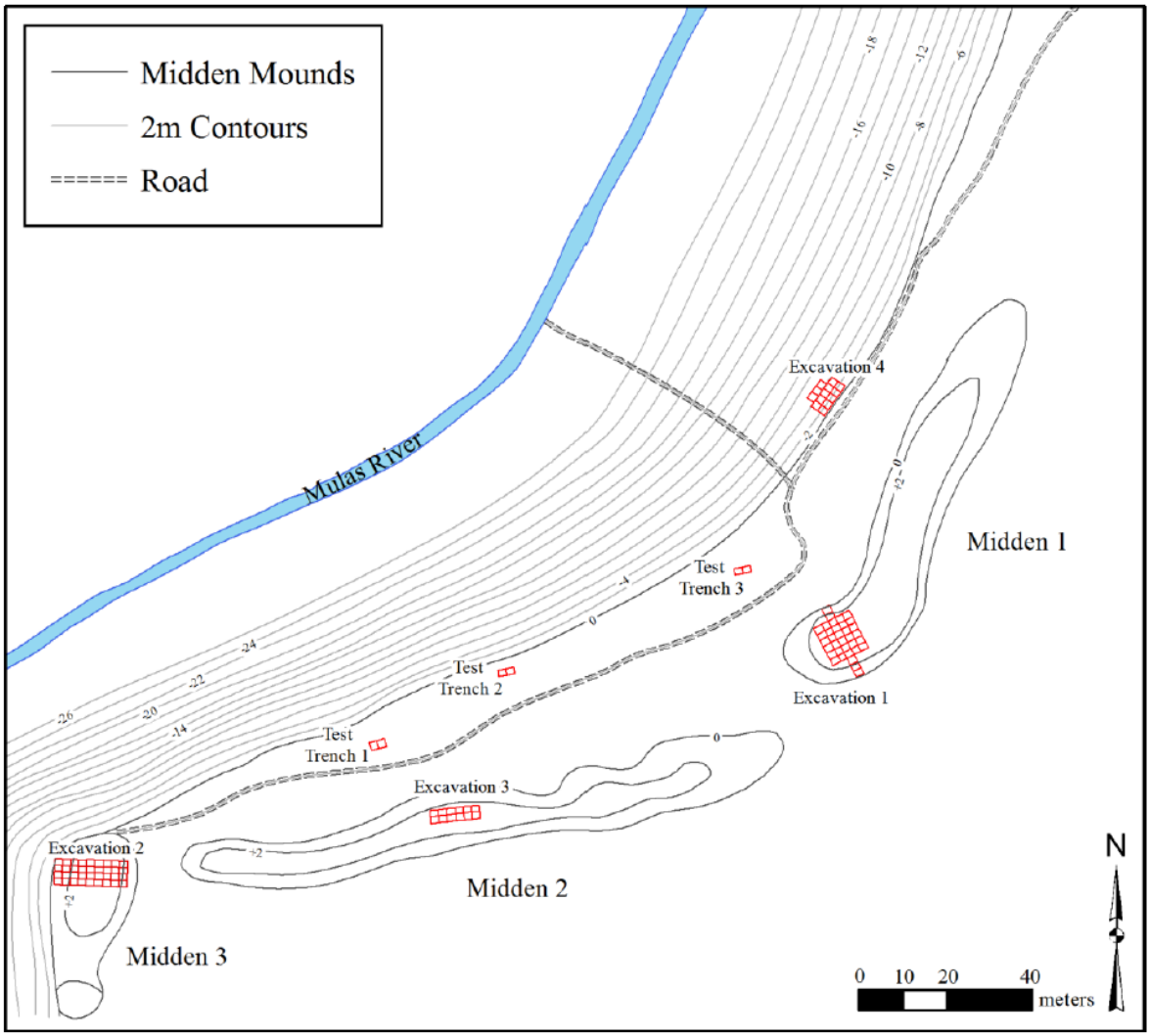
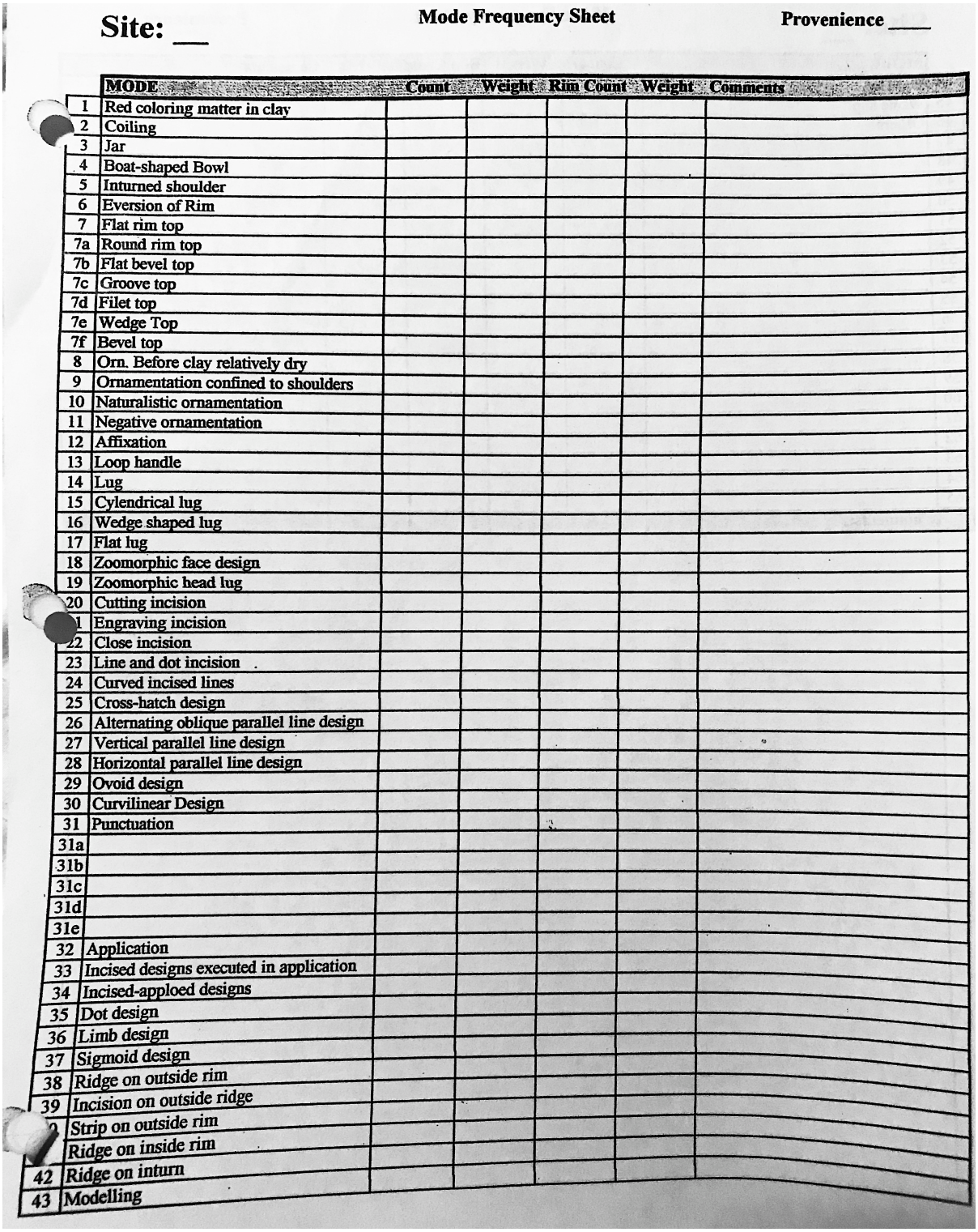


Image 3- (Persons, 2013: 159)



Site: ___ **Mode Frequency Sheet** **Provenience ____**

	MODE	Count	Weight	Rim Count	Weight	Comments
1	Red coloring matter in clay					
2	Coiling					
3	Jar					
4	Boat-shaped Bowl					
5	Inturned shoulder					
6	Eversion of Rim					
7	Flat rim top					
7a	Round rim top					
7b	Flat bevel top					
7c	Groove top					
7d	Filet top					
7e	Wedge Top					
7f	Bevel top					
8	Orn. Before clay relatively dry					
9	Ornamentation confined to shoulders					
10	Naturalistic ornamentation					
11	Negative ornamentation					
12	Affixation					
13	Loop handle					
14	Lug					
15	Cylendrical lug					
16	Wedge shaped lug					
17	Flat lug					
18	Zoomorphic face design					
19	Zoomorphic head lug					
20	Cutting incision					
21	Engraving incision					
22	Close incision					
23	Line and dot incision					
24	Curved incised lines					
25	Cross-hatch design					
26	Alternating oblique parallel line design					
27	Vertical parallel line design					
28	Horizontal parallel line design					
29	Ovoid design					
30	Curvilinear Design					
31	Punctuation					
31a						
31b						
31c						
31d						
31e						
32	Application					
33	Incised designs executed in application					
34	Incised-applied designs					
35	Dot design					
36	Limb design					
37	Sigmoid design					
38	Ridge on outside rim					
39	Incision on outside ridge					
[illegible]	Strip on outside rim					
[illegible]	Ridge on inside rim					
42	Ridge on inturn					
43	Modelling					

Image 4

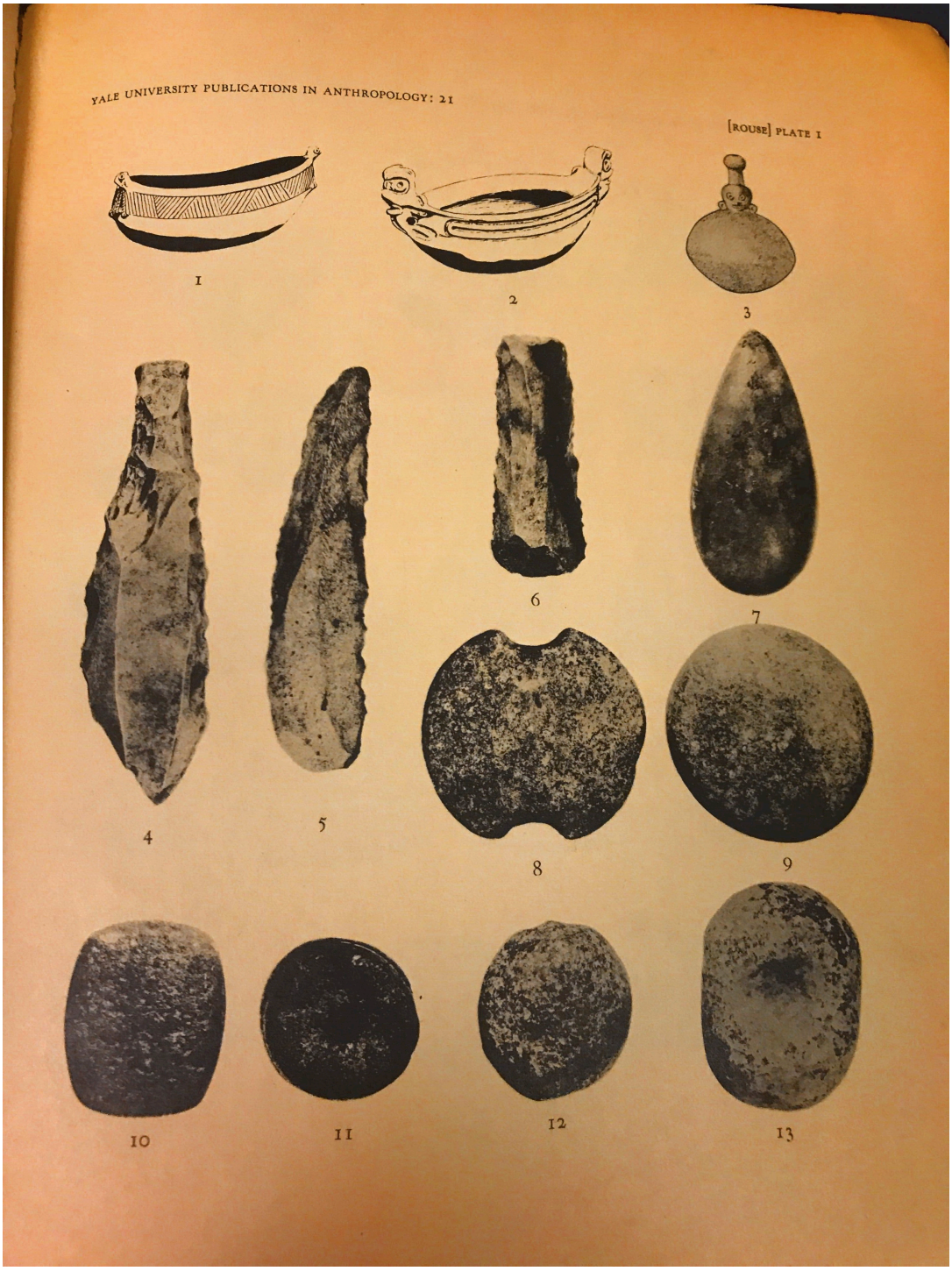


Image 5- (Rouse, 1964: 203)

Navicular bowls and inturned shoulders.

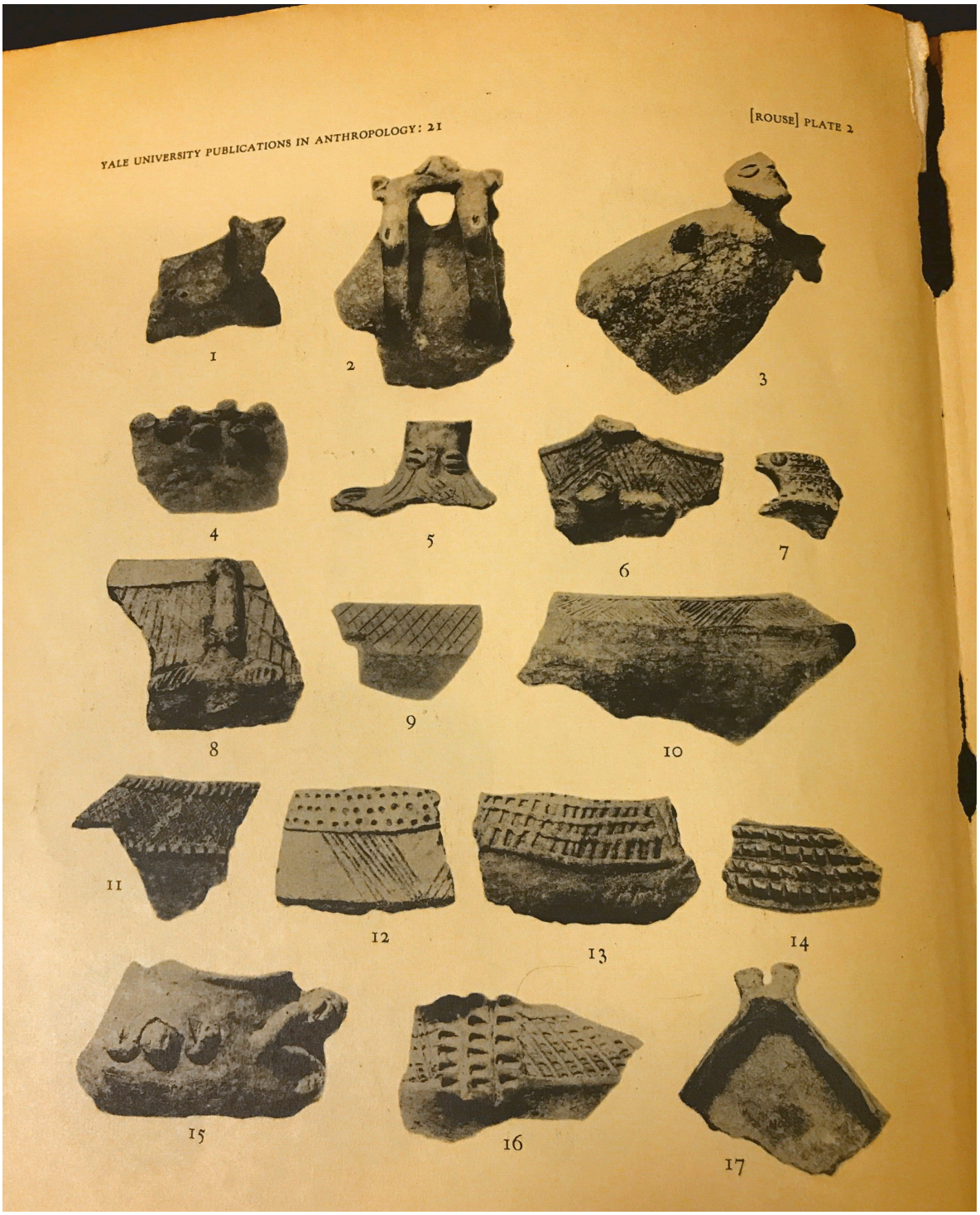


Image 6- (Rouse, 1964: 204)

Punctation.

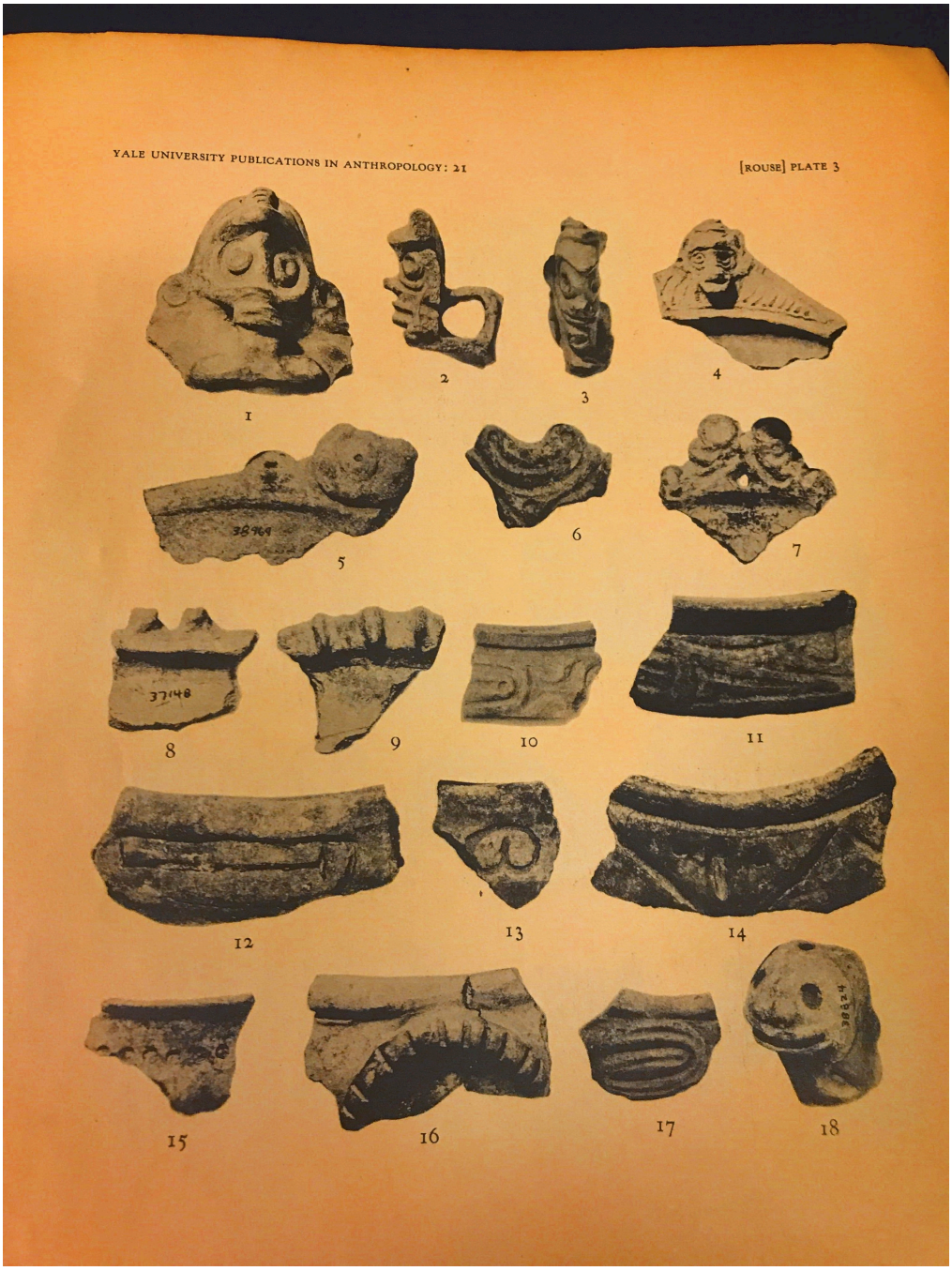


Image 7- (Rouse, 1964: 205)

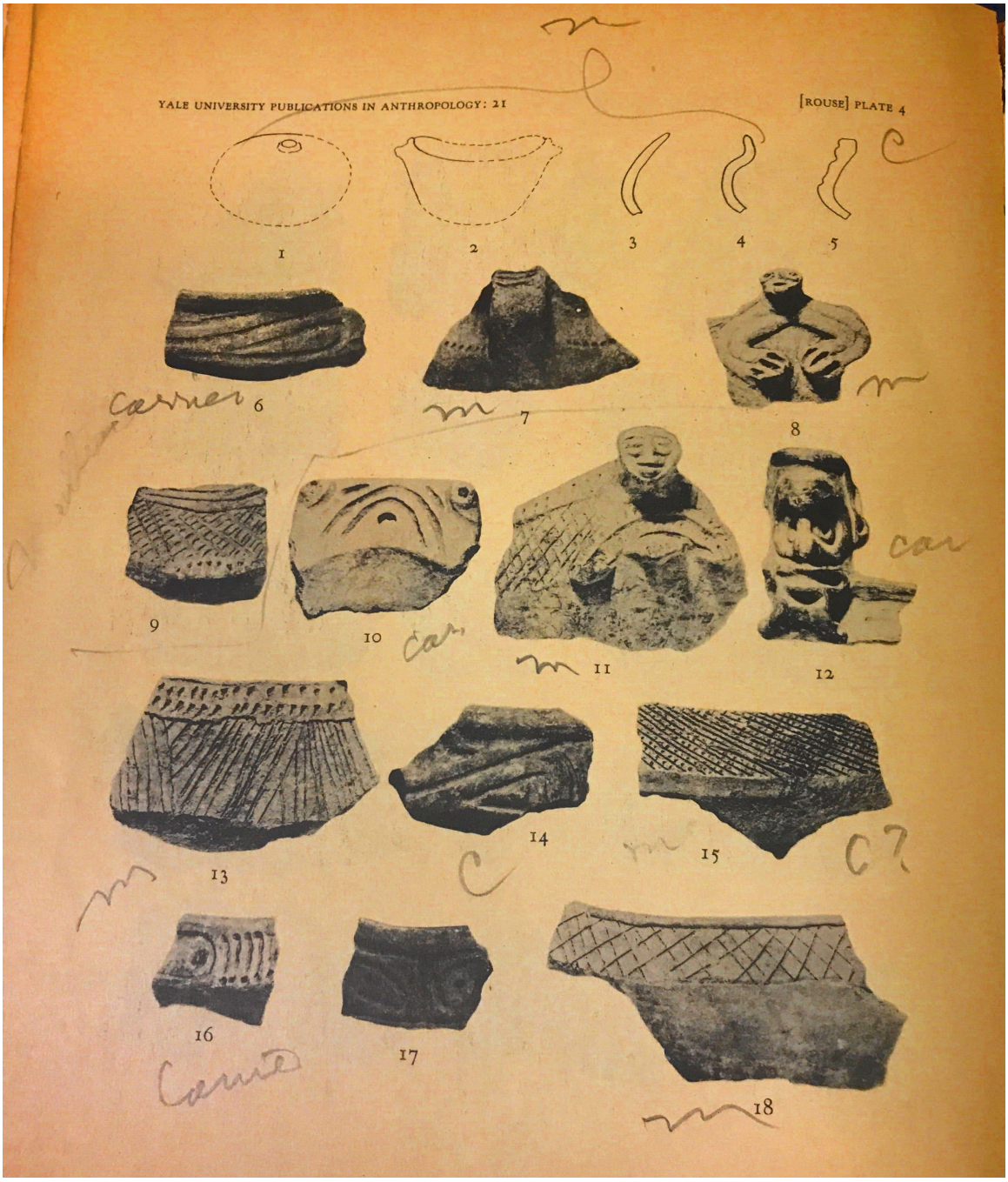


Image 8- (Rouse, 1964: 206)

Loop handles, wedge-shaped lugs, eversion of rim, cutting incisions, engraving incisions.

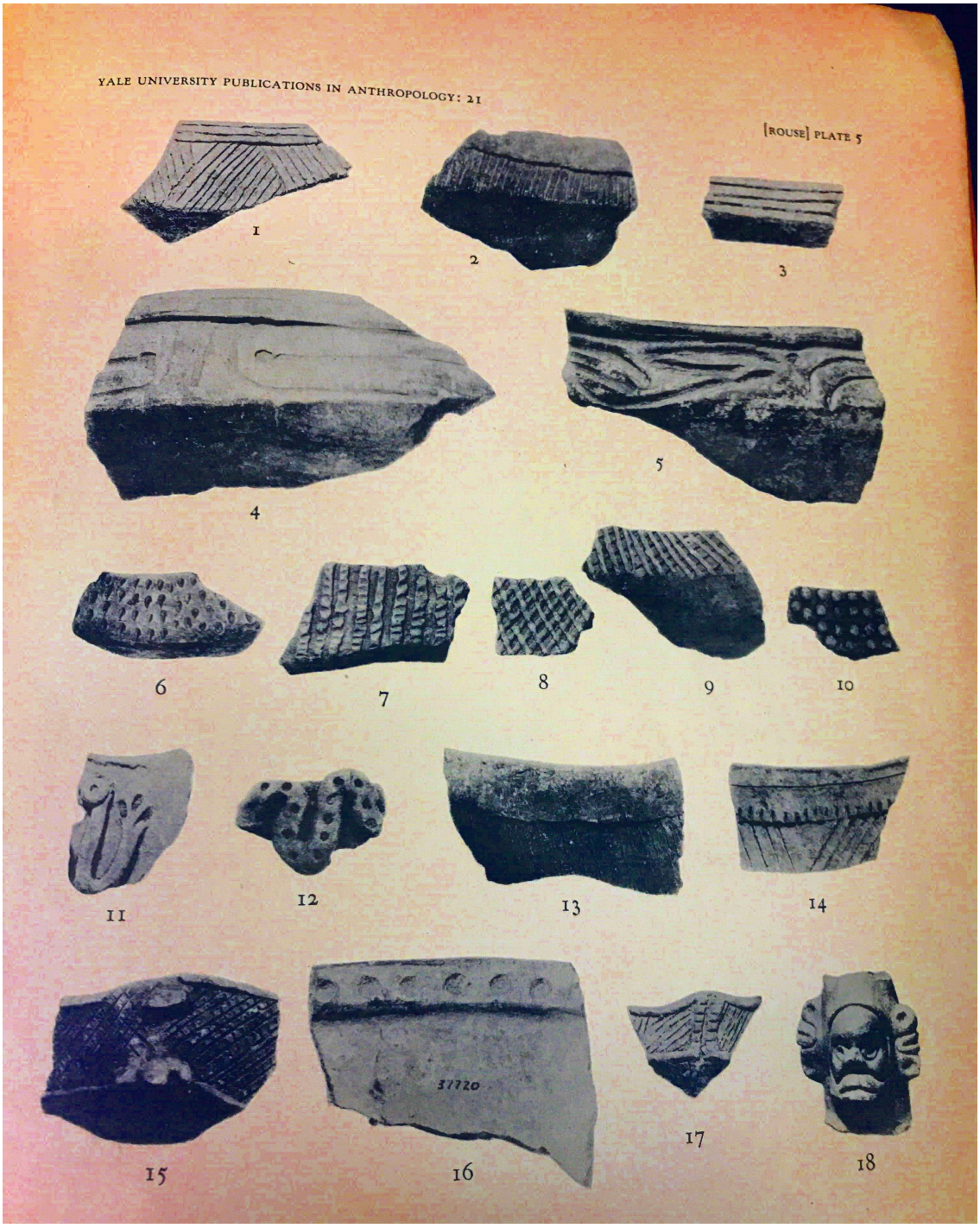


Image 9 – (Rouse, 1964: 207)

Alternating oblique parallel lines, vertical parallel lines, punctations, fine-line decoration, cross-hatched decoration, horizontal parallel line design, and unidirectional oblique incising.

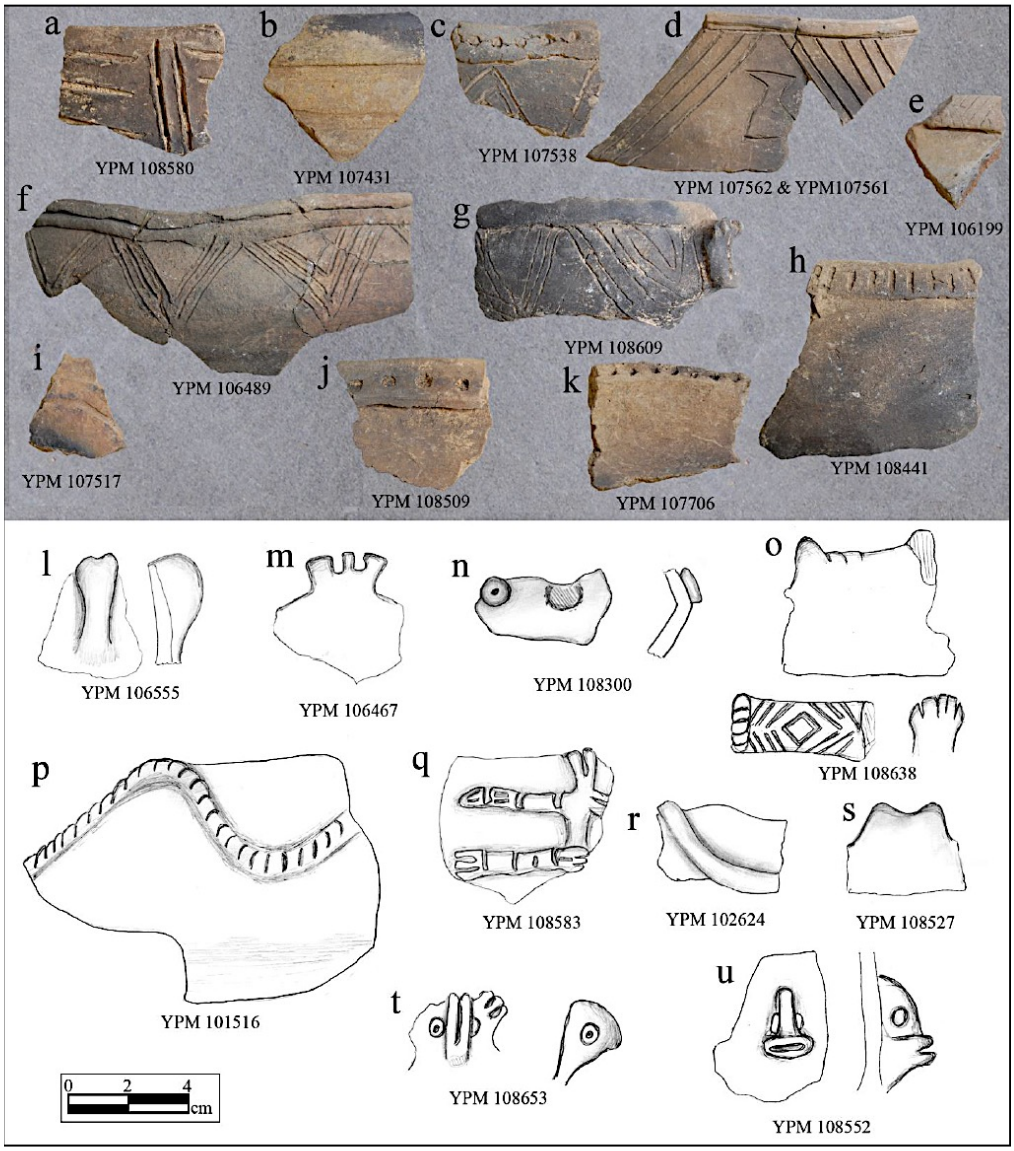


Image 10- (Persons, 2013: 260)
(a) Perpendicular/parallel incising; (b) Parallel incising; (c) Alternating oblique incising and linear band on the rim; (d) Alternating oblique incising; (e) Alternating oblique incising; (f) Alternating oblique incising with rolled lip; (g) Alternating oblique incising and a vertical adorno on the body exhibiting a hand-paw design mode; (h) Perpendicular incising; (i) Curvilinear incising; (j) Linear band on the rim and rolled lip; (k) Linear punctation on the lip; (l) Vertical adorno on the body; (m) Vertical nontabular adorno on the rim; (n) Nodules, flattened and punctated; (o) Vertical nontabular adorno on the rim; (p) Undulating appliqué strip with parallel incised lines; (q) Paired horizontal appliqué strip exhibiting parallel incised lines and the handpaw design mode; (r) Ribbon, plain; (s) Vertical nontabular adorno on the rim exhibiting rectilinear incising and hand-paw design mode; (t) Anthropomorphic bilobe exhibiting hand-paw design mode and longitudinal incising; (u) Anthropomorphic vertical adorno on the body.

Image 11- (Persons, 2013: 264)
(a) Perpendicular/parallel incising with open-C and guilloche design modes; (b) Curvilinear incising (running scrolls) with guilloche design mode; (c) Double-linear punctation under the rim; (d) Linear punctation in curvilinear pattern and eroded nodule; (e) Oblique incising; Perpendicular/parallel incising and rolled lip; (g) rectangle=based incising; (h) Linear band the rim and rolled lip; (i) Rectilinear incising and rolled lip; (j) Flattened nodule decorated with a field of punctation; (k) Perpendicular/parallel incising; (l) Double-linear punctation; (m) Oval incising with interior straight line; (n) Alternating oblique incising and rolled lip; (o) Alternating oblique incisiong with rolled lip and bounded linear punctation on the rim design mode; (p) Curvilinear incising with guilloche design mode; (q) Curvilinear incising; (r) Perpendicular incising and a nodule with a central punctation; (s) Alternating oblique incising with linear band on rim and rolled lip; (t) Alternating oblique incising

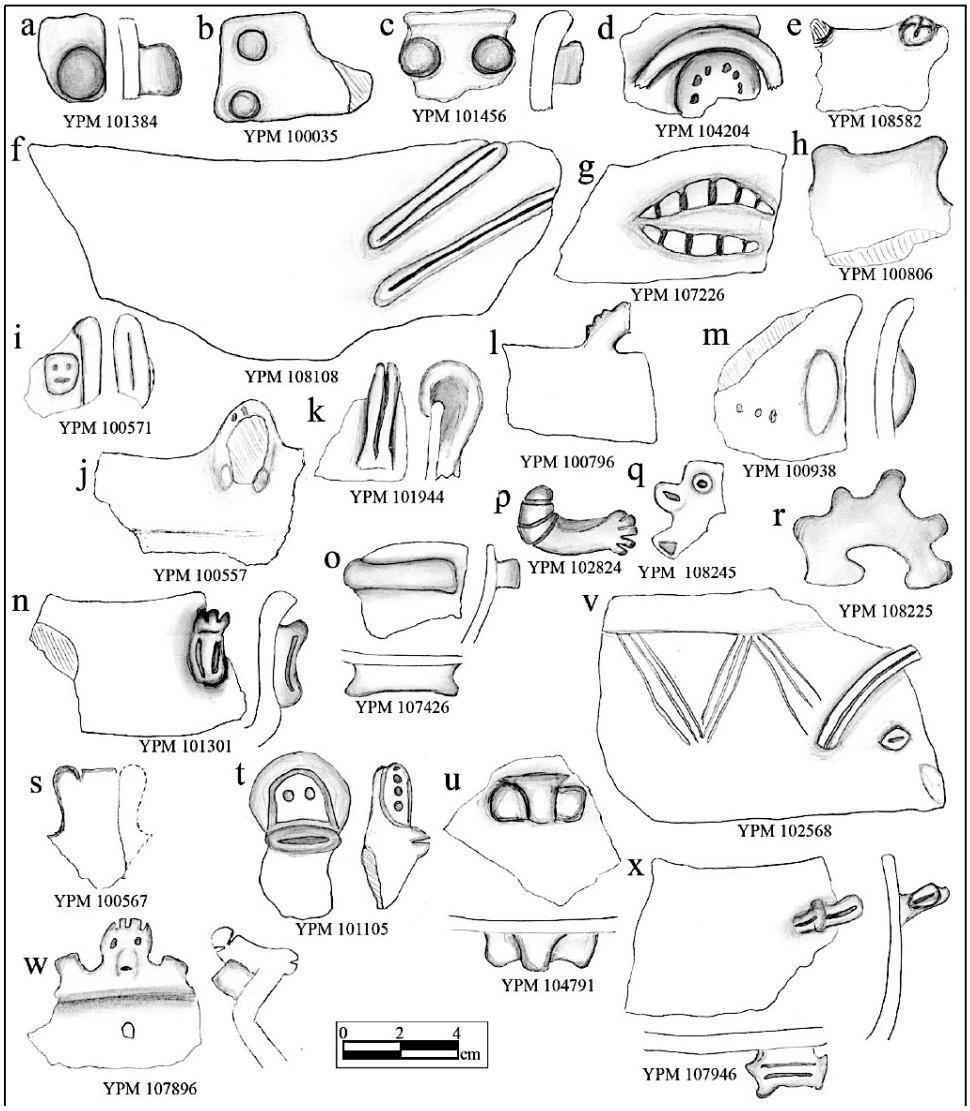


Image 12- (Persons, 2013: 151)

Rounded nodule (b) Conical nodule; (c) Flattened nodule; (d) Flattened nodule with linear punctation under appliqué strip; (e) Rounded nodule with incised embellishments; (f) Ribbons (paired ribbon design mode) with longitudinal incising; (g); Ribbons (paired ribbon design mode) with parallel incised lines; (h) Tabular bilobe on the rim; (i) Anthropozoomorphic tabular adorno on the rim; (j) Vertical nontabular projection on the rim; (k) Vertical nontabular projection on the rim with longitudinal incising; (l) Vertical nontabular projection on the rim with central aperture; (m) Vertical adorno on the body; (n) Vertical adorno on the body with hand-paw; (o) Horizontal bilobe adorno on the body; (p) Horizontal zoomorphic adorno on the body with hand-paw; (q) Tabular anthropomorphic star adorno with central aperture; (r) Tabular star adorno with central aperture; (s) Tabular bilobe adorno on the rim with central flattened nodule; (t) Tabular anthropozoomorphic adorno on the rim with linear punctation; (u) Horizontal adorno on the body (rolled design mode); (v) Alternating oblique incising; Also an appliqué ribbon with longitudinal incising and face under semicircular strip; (w) Horizontal anthropozoomorphic adorno on the rim with dual flattened nodule; (x) Horizontal adorno on the body with longitudinal incising.

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